

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 101660

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PBOR, PDEV, PEPR, US, GW, SF, WA, RH

SUBJECT: BRIEFING THE FRG ON SOUTHERN AFRICA SITUATION

REF: BONN 07341

1. PER REFTTEL, FOLLOWING IS SUBSTANTIVE TEXT OF DEPARTMEN-
TAL MEMORANDUM ON SOUTHERN AFRICA WHICH EMBASSY MAY DRAW
UPON TO PROVIDE KREMER WITH ORAL, RPT ORAL, BRIEFING:

2. BEGIN TEXT: ZIMBABWE

DURING SECRETARY VANCE'S RECENT VISIT TO AFRICA, HE AND
BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY DAVID OWEN HELD EXTENSIVE CON-
VERSATIONS WITH ALL THE PARTIES TO THE RHODESIAN DISPUTE.
AFTER TWO DAYS OF MEETINGS WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IN DAR
ES SALAAM, THEY WENT ON TO PRETORIA FOR TALKS WITH SOUTH
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AFRICAN OFFICIALS. FROM THERE THEY FLEW TO SALISBURY WHERE
DISCUSSIONS WERE HELD WITH THE PARTIES TO THE SALISBURY
AGREEMENT.
WHILE PROGRESS WAS MADE ON SOME POINTS,
WE WERE TO SOME EXTENT DISAPPOINTED WITH POSITIONS WHICH
THE PATRIOTIC (PF) FRONT TOOK ON SEVERAL KEY ISSUES. THE
PF IN EFFECT MAINTAINED THEIR DEMAND FOR A DOMINANT ROLE

DURING THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. THOUGH WE

DID NOT EXPECT COMPLETE AGREEMENT, SOME OF THEIR SUGGESTIONS WERE CLEARLY OUTSIDE THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN

PROPOSALS. NONETHELESS, THE PF AGREED UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS TO ATTEND A FURTHER MEETING FOR DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE INTERNAL GROUPS.

IN PRETORIA, THE SOUTH AFRICANS INDICATED THAT THEY DID NOT OPPOSE FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE SALISBURY PARTIES AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, BUT COULD NOT PRESS SALISBURY TO ACT AGAINST ITS WILL. IN A LATER, PRIVATE MEETING, HOWEVER, FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA SAID THAT SOUTH AFRICA WAS WILLING TO BE HELPFUL BUT HAD TO PROCEED CAREFULLY, IN VIEW OF ITS DELICATE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SALISBURY PARTIES.

IN SALISBURY, THE INTERNAL LEADERS TOLD US THAT THEY WOULD GIVE OUR PROPOSAL FOR A ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION, THOUGH, DRAWING ON THE GENEVA EXPERIENCE, THEY EXPRESSED GREAT SKEPTICISM ABOUT THE VALUE OF SUCH A MEETING.

NAMIBIA

THE WESTERN FIVE PRESENTED THEIR SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL FOR CONFIDENTIAL

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NAMIBIA TO SWAPO, SOUTH AFRICA, THE FRONTLINE STATES, AND NIGERIA MARCH 29-30. SOUTH AFRICA AND SWAPO HAVE TOLD US THAT THEY WILL INFORM US "IN DUE COURSE" OF THEIR OFFICIAL VIEWS ON OUR PROPOSAL, WHICH NEITHER IS KEEN TO ACCEPT BUT WHICH NEITHER WISHES TO BE SEEN REJECTING. AT THIS STAGE, ONLY STRONG FRONTLINE/NIGERIAN PRESSURE ON SWAPO IS LIKELY TO RESULT IN ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSAL. WHILE THE NIGERIANS AND TANZANIANS HAVE PRIVATELY EXPRESSED APPROVAL OF OUR PLAN, THEY HAVE, HOWEVER, DECLINED TO EXERT THE NEEDED PRESSURE ON SWAPO. WITHOUT SWAPO'S AGREEMENT WE LACK OUR MOST EFFECTIVE TOOL FOR BRINGING ABOUT SOUTH AFRICAN ACQUIESCENCE.

TO KEEP UP THE MOMENTUM ON NAMIBIA, WE HAD HOPED TO HAVE AN EARLY SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING TO ENDORSE A RESOLUTION FAVORABLE TO OUR PROPOSAL. HOWEVER, THE AFRICANS, ACTING ON SWAPO'S BEHALF, ARE UNWILLING TO CONSIDER ANY SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION PRIOR TO THE APRIL 24-MAY 5 SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON NAMIBIA. OUR OBJECTIVE AT THE SPECIAL SESSION WILL BE TO TRY TO KEEP OUR NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT ROUTE OPEN AMIDST EXPECTED STRONG RHETORIC URGING ACTION TO FORCE SOUTH AFRICA OUT OF NAMIBIA.

SOUTH AFRICA

IN RECENT MONTHS, SOUTH AFRICAN SPOKESMEN HAVE PRIVATELY AND PUBLICLY ATTACKED US POLICY TOWARDS THEIR COUNTRY AS SHORT-SIGHTED AND HYPOCRITICAL. DURING AMBASSADOR BOWDLER'S FAREWELL CALL, FOR EXAMPLE, FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA TOLD HIM THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD GIVEN UP ON THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION.

IN LAST YEAR'S GENERAL ELECTION THE NATIONAL PARTY ALLEGEDLY WAS RETURNED TO POWER BY THE WHITE ELECTORATE WITH AN EVEN GREATER PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY (134 OUT OF 165 SEATS). SOME OBSERVERS HAD HOPED THAT VORSTER WOULD USE HIS MANDATE TO MAKE A BASIC SHIFT IN GOVERNMENT STRATEGY, TO MAKE SOME SORT
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OF POLITICAL OPENING TO THE BLACKS. SO FAR WE HAVE SEEN NO INDICATION THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS PREPARED TO MOVE IN THE DIRECTION OF A PROGRESSIVE TRANSFORMATION OF ITS SOCIETY OR ALLOW FOR ANY FORM OF MEANINGFUL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION. THE GOVERNMENT HAS ANNOUNCED SOME ADJUSTMENT, SUCH AS LONG-TERM LEASE-HOLD RIGHTS, WHICH MAY MAKE LIFE EASIER FOR URBAN BLACKS.

TALKING POINTS

ZIMBABWE

-- OUR POSITION WITH RESPECT TO A SETTLEMENT HAS NOT CHANGED. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE INTERNAL AGREEMENT IS INADEQUATE TO THE TASK OF BRINGING ABOUT A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, AND THAT EFFORTS MUST BE MADE TO BRING ALL OF THE PARTIES INTO THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

-- ALTHOUGH THE SECRETARY'S RECENT VISIT TO AFRICA DID NOT ACCOMPLISH ALL THAT WE HOPED IT WOULD TOWARDS AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING, WE FOUND ALL OF THE VARIOUS PARTIES INTERESTED IN CONTINUING DISCUSSIONS WHICH COULD LEAD TO SUCH A MEETING.

-- WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS, PROVIDING AS THEY DO FOR AN IMPARTIAL ADMINISTRATION DURING THE CRITICAL TRANSITION PERIOD, AND FOR AN ELECTORAL PROCESS IN WHICH ALL PARTIES COULD PARTICIPATE AS EQUALS, OFFER THE BEST ROAD TO AN ENDURING SETTLEMENT.

-- HOWEVER, SHOULD ALL OF THE PARTIES AGREE ON SETTLEMENT TERMS WHICH VARY FROM THOSE LAID DOWN IN THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS, WE WOULD NOT OBJECT, AS LONG AS THE BASIC PRINCIPLES -- E.G. FREE ELECTIONS, BASED ON ONE MAN, ONE VOTE,
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LEADING TO AN INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATIC STATE, WERE INCORPORATED.

-- WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT THROUGH CONTINUED DISCUSSIONS WITH THE VARIOUS PARTIES, AND WITH THE CONTINUED COOPERATION OF

OTHER INTERESTED STATES, GENERAL AGREEMENT FOR AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING CAN BE DEVELOPED.

NAMIBIA

-- THE WESTERN FIVE HAVE PRESENTED THEIR SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL FOR NAMIBIA TO SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA, AND WE ARE NOW AWAITING THEIR OFFICIAL REPLIES.

-- OUR PROPOSAL OFFERS A FAIR AND PRACTICAL ROUTE TO A SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA INCLUDING FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385.

-- IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE WESTERN SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL BE ACTED ON QUICKLY LEST SOUTH AFRICA IMPOSE AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA WHICH COULD LEAD TO FURTHER BLOODSHED AND STRIFE, AS WELL AS PROVIDE A FURTHER OPPORTUNITY FOR COMMUNIST INTERVENTION IN THE AREA.

SOUTH AFRICA

-- UNLESS THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT ALTERS ITS RACIAL POLICIES, THE SITUATION WILL EVENTUALLY DEGENERATE INTO A BLOODY RACIAL CONFLICT BRINGING SUFFERING TO MILLIONS OF SOUTH AFRICANS, BLACK AND WHITE.

-- SUCH A CONFLICT WOULD CREATE THE OPPORTUNITY FOR FOREIGN INTERVENTION, ESPECIALLY BY THE RUSSIANS AND CUBANS, WHICH WE HAVE WITNESSED ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA.

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-- WE SEE NO EVIDENCE IN THE ACTIONS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT SINCE LAST YEAR'S ELECTION OF ANY INTENTION TO MAKE FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN ITS RACIAL POLICIES.

END TEXT

3. DEPARTMENT IS CURRENTLY PREPARING MUCH MORE DETAILED

BRIEFING FOR TALKS WITH THE FIVE IN LONDON. YOU MAY INFORM FRG THAT THE SECRETARY MET WITH NUJOMA AND FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA BUT DID NOT, RPT NOT, MEET WITH VORSTER. CHRISTOPHER

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